NATIONAL GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

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In this issue

Paul Robeson • Frederick Schuman • Kumar Goshal
Ella Winter • Jas. Dugan

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Vol. I—No. 10 178 MONDAY, DEC. 20, 1948

Memo to All GUARDIAN Subscribers:

Is Your Subscription About to Expire?

IF YOU are a Charter Subscriber to NATIONAL GUARDIAN you are among the thousands of our readers who signed up in advance of our first publication date last Oct. 18.

Most of you subscribed for our first 13-week "trial" period.

This period will end with Vol. I, No. 13, our issue of Jan. 10.

Jan. 10 is only three issues away.

Have you renewed your Charter subscription?

If not, please do this today!

Postal regulations require that we stop sending you the paper if your subscription has not been renewed. This means that Vol I, No. 13 may be your last issue.

If by chance you don't recollect the duration of your original subscription, you can tell where you stand by glancing back now to Page 12, where your subscription address appears.

If the code number underneath your address reads "1-13"—or any combination in the 'teens—your subscription is due to expire very soon. The code number "1-13" means that your subscription expires with Vol. I, No. 13—Jan. 10, only three issues away! If the code number is "1-14" your subscription runs through Vol. I, No. 14, Jan. 17. And so forth...

So please turn back to Page 12 and check on your code number. If it shows that your subscription is due to expire with Vol. I, No. 13 or on some other date soon after Jan. 10, please tear out the mailing corner on Page 12 and sent it back to us today with your check for renewal for a full year. If you like we will bill you, but billing costs money—of which we haven't very much.

While you're at it, check up on your friends for whom you may have sent in subscriptions. Urge them to renew their subscriptions too—for a full year.

If your code number on Page 12 reads "1-52," "2-1" or some such combination of figures, relax! You are all set for the coming year.

On second thought, don't relax!

Instead, dig out your little black book, thumb through your Christmas card list, talk things up among your neighbors, the people you work with and so on—and sign them up as GUARDIAN readers. That can be your Christmas present to us.

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And now—a Merry Christmas to you all, and a stocking full of Peace, Freedom and Abundance for '49 and forever.

THE EDITORS

LETTERS

3 Principles

COLCHESTER, VT.

I hope with all my heart that the NATIONAL GUARDIAN will:

1. Face all issues squarely and indulge in self-criticism just as much as it does in criticism of those we consider wrong.

2. Constantly probe for possible areas of agreement between right and left so that we may all move forward together.

3. Avoid creating further hatreds by vindictive, self-righteous attitudes.

It is difficult, not to say a well-nigh impossible job, but it seems to me that the issues of today demand it.

Martha D. Kennedy

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We're International

NOTTINGHAM, ENGLAND

I have had the good fortune through a friend, W. J. Kehoe of New York, to receive, read and enjoy the splendid initial publication of NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Guardian it is, because it embodies within its pages an urgency of desire to safeguard and develop the better elements in American life.

Your paper has already become international: Firstly, because here in England several people have been influenced by its message. Secondly, I have passed my most prized copy to a friend in Germany in the knowledge that NATIONAL GUARDIAN has a contribution to make to the furtherance of progressive German and European thought and aims. I can say on good authority that in Germany, such a paper as yours is passed from hand to hand until it becomes literally threadbare.

The value of GUARDIAN is that it reveals the aspirations, foibles, idiosyncrasies and desires of the real America. And in addition, it exposes the fallacious thinking of the inquisitorial ignoramus.

The affirmations of contributors like Norman Mailer convince the European that there are living Americans similar in conscience and in heart to Bruno, Galileo or John Ball.

Frankly, I would like to subscribe, but the financial position and laws of my country do not allow it at present. This is why I have an exchange arrangement with my friend in New York. He sends me American publications of interest to me. I send him English papers of interest to him.

I commend this idea to your readers.

John W. Kenyon
74 Edwards Lane
Sherwood

(Thousands of people in foreign countries, who are not permitted to send money to America, want GUARDIAN. Readers can help spread the good word about progressive America by taking subs. for their friends abroad.—Ed.)

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Women & Welfare

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

You can tell K. M. Price ("Where are the women?") that Wallace said in a nationwide broadcast it was the women mostly who have helped build the Progressive Party. They were its strongest and most diligent workers.

The CIO convention story in your paper makes me want to remind union leaders that they are supposed to be working for the little worker and not for their own prestige. The problem of the union is the worker's welfare first and politics or the issue of communism after the worker feels strong enough, physically and mentally, to cope with these problems. As soon as he can eat a good meal daily, clothe his family adequately with lower prices and relax without tearing his hair to make ends meet for the most vital expenses, then it is time enough to make noise about 'isms.

Sylvia Merles

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Cancer Cures

REDONDO BEACH, CAL.

Regarding your Nov. 29 article on cancer. May I suggest that the misleading information by the American Medical Assn. is as fully contrary to the truth as is the political news coverage of the majority of papers today.

Here also the emphasis is profit and power. Contrary to the denial of the big medical associations that any cure for cancer exists, cancer patients are being entirely cured in many places in the U.S. and in other countries. And the courageous non-conformist doctors who use sane methods for curing cancer, are getting the same violent persecution handed out to them as have truth-tellers and doers in all departments, in all countries. The Hoxsey Clinics, Dr. W. R. Koch and many others, including a cancer clinic in Los Angeles, are all active in cancer cure, against the violent opposition of the AMA.

C. H. Turvey

Gentlemen:

I found the enclosed curious handwritten note in a copy of Pilgrim's Progress. *It seems rather apt at the present time.*

JAMES DUGAN

I TELL a tale of Medieval Times, of poor humans afraid in the dark, of Pumpkins growing where human heads should be, and of winter nights when the Dread Witch Hunter Generall tramped the lonely roads holding his forked hazel twig before, marching steadily Witchward. I relate on the Lord of Mischief and lingering All Hallow's Eve when Mad Masquers danced the Rigadoon on restless graves. And of My Lord Hategood, the Lord Oldman, the Lord Carnal Delight, and the Lord of Vain-Glory. I speak of evil times, which are called the Dark Ages.

Then it happened that two Baileys and a Kangaroo Counsel went into a field at night following upon an advanced Hysteric, which in Reasonable Times would find himself in Bedlam. Crying for a light the Hysteric did search for Cabalistic Signs, and came upon a Druidic circle of Squashes, each with its stem turned upon the Pumpkin which that Age did Worshipp. The Strangeling fell upon the Pumpkin and brought forth the Pits thereof. Forthwith the Criers cried Pumpkin! and the Journals advertised Traitors, Hereticks and Runagades! of any that Disbelieved.

SO THEY TOOK many men upon these Accounts and put them in Pulpwood Pillories, and brought some before Judge My Lord Hategood. The Pits of the Pumpkin were brought forth hidden from sight and waved before the People in the manner of that Time. Men of Reason were alive then as now but many fell prostrate before the Pumpkin, kissing it and swearing many Oathes to it. The Town made mighty uproar, albeit they did not see what was contained in the Pumpkin. All was taken on Belief in that time and the word of Criers and journals sufficed.

NOW there was Treaty to be made between that country and Muscovy, which the Pumpkinites feared as they feared Reason, while the Muscovites held to Writ and marvelled as Pagans upon the Pumpkin Religion which they understood nought. Great Tryals and Outcries, Choler, Wroth and Civil Division, fell to the Pumpkin Worshippers while Muscovy followed Writ and the Art of Slingstones. Courts and Plenipotentiaries stood idle while the Pumpkin ruled. No Prince or Generall or Preacher could prevail over the Mighty Pumpkin. Pilgrims as they were then did speak against the Pumpkinites, for which They were railed against and some put in Stocks with cries of Pumpkin-Liner! and Fellow-Pumpkin! so that Reason by her old Weakness fell silent.

THE AUTHOR'S ADDRESS TO HIS READERS: Such things did happen in the Twentieth Century, which same would tax Belief in our Enlightened Age. The Relation set down here was delivered to the Author in the Similitude of a Dream, and as a Moral Warning he commends it to His Readers.

MATTHEW PERSON 15 December 1677

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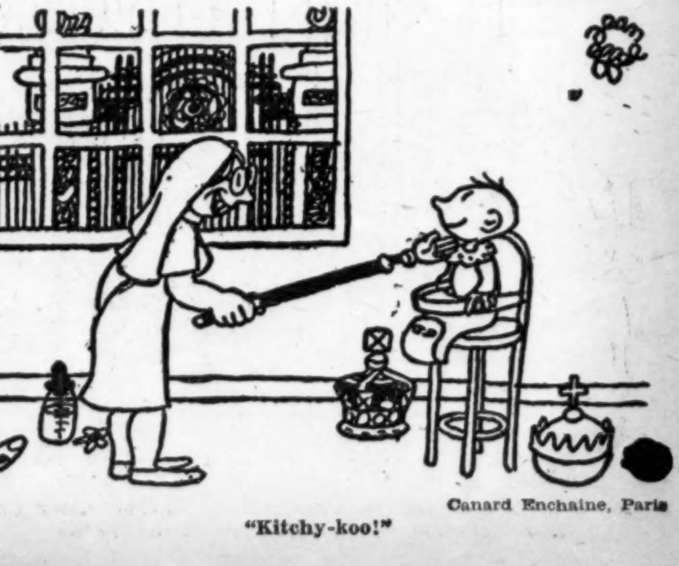
"Now, reader I have told my Dream to thee;
See if thou canst Interpret it to me. . . .
If thou shalt cast all away as vain,
I know not but 'twill make me dream again."

Conclusion to the First Part: **The Pilgrim's Progress.**

PRINCE CHARLES IN THE ROYAL NURSERY



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Kitchy-koo!"

THE WORLD

Frederick L. Schuman

Berlin Story

Diplomacy by generals will lead "to a test of strength by arms"

WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

"YOU *can't shoot and kill an idea with a gun. Military genius—no matter how excellent—is not the answer that we dare to rely upon for victory in this cold war that gnaws at the peace. In the face of this obvious fact, the policies of our country today are dominated by dozens of military men who by instinct and training think only in terms of war. If we are to continue leaving the affairs of our country in the hands of military men we shall virtually confess that we cannot solve the problems of world peace.*"

These words were spoken on the first day of last April by a Presidential aspirant whose name, interestingly enough, was not Henry Wallace or Norman Thomas but Thomas Dewey.

They are still true. They call attention to one cause of the East-West conflict and of the stalemate in Berlin. Diplomacy conducted by generals—even when they are as able as Marshall, Draper, Clay, and Bedell Smith, and so peace-minded that they "roar as gently as any sucking dove"—is almost invariably incompetent and irresponsible.

Diplomacy requires bargaining, an art in which few generals are trained. Professional warriors, moreover, tend to be motivated subconsciously by martial pride and by the need of excursions, alarms, and chronic crises to maintain and enlarge military appropriations.

IMMOVABLE BODY. Soviet diplomacy is conducted by civilians. But its shortcomings, while of a different order, are no less exasperating. Moscow's local spokesmen, in Berlin and elsewhere, have no discretion, no flexibility, and no authority to bargain on their own.

Apparent agreements often turn out to be illusory. Real agreements, as Harry Hopkins long ago discovered, can be reached only in the Kremlin. Even then, they sometimes become so evanescent as to drive the most affable Western representatives to frustration, rage, and despair.

Last spring the restrictions on trade and travel with the Western sectors of Berlin began, culminating in June in a full "blockade." These were Soviet methods of pressure on the Atlantic Powers to abandon their plans for a Frankfurt "government," and to accept a treaty involving Soviet participation in control of the Ruhr and large reparations to the U.S.S.R. from current German production. Western defiance, symbolized in the airlift, was intended to convince Moscow that the West would neither accept such terms nor withdraw from Berlin. Currency questions were a side issue.

Since these basic stakes of diplomacy on both sides have not been redefined, an irresistible force has met an immovable body—happily without violent impact, as yet, but unhappily with vast misery and danger for all concerned.

COUNTER-BLOCKADE. Gen. Clay and his intimate political adviser, Robert Murphy—having received no clear guidance from their hesitant and confused superiors in Washington—acted on their own in late June in beginning the airlift. On his return from the U.S. in July, Clay announced that no negotiations were possible unless the blockade were first lifted; Murphy declared that "we are all set" to establish a West German regime; the Western Powers imposed a counter-blockade against the Soviet zone; and Moscow repeated that the Berlin question "cannot be separated from the general question of quadripartite control" over all Germany.

This initial deadlock was broken (apparently) by the August negotiations in Moscow. London and Paris, reluctantly followed by Washington, now assented to the introduction of Soviet zone currency under Four Power control throughout Berlin, while Moscow agreed to a Berlin settlement without reference to Western Germany.

De Groene Amsterdammer

The "directive" of August 30 to the four Military Governors embodied this compromise. But its practical realization broke down in September—not because Sokolovsky ignored the accord, but because Washington and Moscow both held back at the last moment from a local settlement in pursuit of larger stakes.

BRASS AND BRAID. In what followed, it is clear that American brass and braid intervened repeatedly to obviate any danger of an outbreak of peace.

Marshall's appeal to U.N. was calculated not to promote an agreement, but to prevent one by the familiar and always futile device of "mobilizing world opinion" against the U.S.S.R.

When Moscow on October 5 proposed that the Council of Foreign Ministers meet to discuss the whole German question and asked that the directive of August 30 "be recognized as an agreement on the basis of which the situation in Berlin should be regulated," Truman proposed to send Vinson to Moscow. The move was at once blocked by Marshall, Lovett, Forrestal, Clay, and Murphy.

When Moscow accepted the Lie-Evatt proposals of mid-November for "immediate conversations" among the Big Four, Washington, London and Paris, still under the influence of the American military, rejected it on the ground that the blockade must first be lifted.

NO RETREAT. In late November London and Paris sought to persuade Washington to submit to Dr. Juan Bramuglia (acting chairman of the U.N. Security Council) a proposal, drafted in September by British Military Governor of Berlin Gen. Robertson, for a Berlin currency accord based on the August 30 directive. After conferring with Clay and Murphy in Paris, Marshall refused—and implied that the U.S. no longer accepted the directive.

Bramuglia's latest proposal for a meeting of financial experts of six "neutral" Powers to recommend a settlement by January 1 has been accepted ungraciously and without commitments by the Western Governments.

Meanwhile, the losses suffered by both sides have not been enough to bring about any retreat from the irreconcilable positions originally taken.

Washington has sacrificed a score of American lives in the airlift, which is now costing almost $1,000,000 a day.

Moscow has lost the propaganda battle for the German public mind, not only among Berlin Westenders but throughout the Reich, with the German Communists badly discredited and demoralized by the results of the struggle. Moscow is probably losing the economic battle, since the counter-blockade deprives the Soviet zone of much needed fuel, raw materials, manufactures, and technical skills.

Should the airlift break down in mid-winter, Moscow may yet win the war of nerves. Should it carry on successfully, Washington may win.

"VICTORY" HOPES DIM. "Victory" in either case promises to be restricted to the gaining of concessions from the weaker side regarding Berlin currency, with the larger questions of Germany as a whole deferred indefinitely.

Russian hopes of a unified Reich under Communist influence will wane if Russophobia continues to grow in Germany. American hopes for a unified Reich under Western influence may well be wrecked by the conflict with France over the Ruhr—which is another deplorable product of military control over American foreign affairs.

Even the Berlin issue, however, admits of no settlement until one side or the other comes to believe that it is losing more than it can hope to gain by continuing the conflict.

TRAGIC DRIFT. Truman's bipartisan advisers are drifting tragically toward an ultimate test of strength by arms. Americans who are aware of this must continue to hope that means can be found for restoring the conduct of policy in Germany, and of our diplomacy as a whole, to civilian hands.

Further military control can lead only to further weakening of the U.N., to new deadlocks, to ever more hazardous crises, and to an end of all prospects for an American-Soviet understanding.

Progressives, liberals, and conservatives alike would do well to ponder the words of Sumner Welles (Dec. 7):

"Events which have occurred within the last ten days have brought into sharp relief the fundamental reason why our foreign policy is relegating the U. N. to the discard. At the very moment that our delegation in Paris was announcing that it would cooperate fully with the smaller countries on the Security Council in finding a solution for the East-West crisis, Gen. Clay's military government in Berlin was telling the press that the attempt of the U.N. to bring about a settlement was 'doomed to failure.'

"After the Western Powers had in principle accepted the formula proposed by the smaller countries, and it had been approved by the Soviet Union, the American military authorities in Berlin declared that no such solution was acceptable. . . . So long as the high brass is permitted to determine the conduct of our foreign policy, American support for the U.N. may be long on assurances, but it will be short on performance."

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, professor of political science at Williams College, is an authority on European affairs. He is the author of many books, the latest of which is "Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad."

"It's that Congressional committee. They probably found out we made torpedoes for the Russians during the war."

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Holiday in China

THE happiest Christmas for the greatest number—considering Christmas as the season of hope rather than of gift-wrapped frigidaires—was to be in China this year.

As city after city fell to the People's Armies, Chinese unionists were methodically saving mines, railroads and factories from "scorched earth" destruction by Chiang's fleeing troops. Peiping and Tientsin were about to fall.

Nanking, the capital (wrote GUARDIAN military analyst Max Werner), remained as "strategically the last refuge of Chiang. Shanghai and Hankow are indefensible; no Kuomintang state can be established in south China, where it will be a guerrilla war in reverse, with anti-Communist guerrillas fighting regular Communist armies."

"GOOD REDS." American ideologists were hastily whittling a new and consoling theory out of this disaster for

Continued in wide column on next page.

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

western policies. In a **Saturday Evening Post** article the able historian of China's Red Army, Edgar Snow (**Red Star Over China**), implied that the Chinese Communists—having, like the Yugoslavs, won their own revolution unaided by Moscow—might place national pride above Party allegiance; hence the west might do business with them without damaging the anti-Kremlin crusade.

"Diplomats who won't do business with Communists of Europe," said **U.S. News**, "now talk of ways to do business with Communists of Asia. Communists are 'good' and 'bad' ... It's all very tangled and helps to explain why officials are confused."

IT AIN'T SO. Major evidence of the confusion came after ECA chief Paul Hoffman told reporters in Shanghai that any new Chinese coalition with Communists could continue getting U.S. aid, provided it allowed essential freedoms and U.S. control of the aid's distribution.

Undersecretary of State Lovett immediately rose to state that Hoffman was speaking only for himself.

In yet another Washington fumble ECA representative Thomas K. Finletter, in London, had to withdraw the charge by Hoffman's deputy, David Bruce, that the British were selling ERP aluminum back to U.S. dealers at a profit. The confusion about U.S. foreign policy was not confined to officials.

Worry in Japan

BRITISH PENNIES. No one doubted that the Communists would dominate any new regime in China. U.S. and British businessmen had no choice but to try and appease them or lose all.

British assets in China were estimated at $1,200,000,000 to $1,600,000,000 invested in banks, oil, shipping, mines and factories. Financial editor Oscar Hodson of the London **News Chronicle** said they were "confidently hopeful" of carrying on.

In Japan, now rapidly reviving as an anti-Communist bastion complementing western Germany, the democratic figleaf was wearing thinner. Gen. MacArthur's headquarters were worried by the drop in sales of U. S. books on democracy.

Finance Minister Izumiyama, who caused an international scandal by making a pass at a lady member of the

Continued in wide column on next page.

Kumar Goshal

India: The pot boils over

THERE is serious trouble brewing in India. Three years after the end of the war and one year after India was carved into two British Dominions, the fundamental problems of India are no nearer solution. Recent events in China might conceivably encourage the people to take matters in their own hands.

The masses of the people remain apallingly poor. There is an acute shortage of food and other consumer goods. The black market flourishes openly and prices are beyond the reach of all but those who profited during the war.

Recently, I had to pay $1 for a quart of watery milk in Calcutta. Cloth is as scarce as food; in a store window in Bombay, I found an ordinary Arrow shirt priced at $7.

LOAD OF DEBT. Most of the people still live in small villages, and try to earn their living by tilling the soil. Land still remains largely in the hands of big landowners.

Under popular pressure, some local legislatures have passed laws giving the government the right to buy the land from landlords and sell it to the peasants; but bickering over the amount to be paid the landlords as compensation has prevented their implementation. Meanwhile, the peasants go on borrowing from the landlord who is often also the moneylender.

In a typical village in West Bengal, which I visited, I found most of the villagers heavily in debt. While basic commodity prices had increased over 400% since before the war, the income of the villagers had increased only about 50%.

I found the peasants quite conscious of their plight; peasant uprisings in India in the near future are a genuine possibility. Rice riots, in fact, have already occurred, and in some places agricultural laborers have gone on strike.

STONY RICE. Workers' wages in the cities, despite some cost of living allowances, have lagged woefully behind the rising cost of basic necessities. The price of rice in Calcutta has shot up from 4 cents to 12 cents a pound. Even this rice is adulterated with small stones to increase the weight when sold. Flour is difficult to obtain; when available, it is often mixed with pulverized tamarind seeds. Needless to say, strikes are frequent, often accompanied by police brutality.

The Indian Government's response to the popular discontent has been very peculiar. Repressive measures have been taken against striking peasants and industrial workers.

Outspoken progressives, men and women alike, are being jailed without trial to keep them out of circulation. The Communist Party has been declared illegal in some parts of India; many of its leaders are in jail, and warrants are out for the others even in those parts of India where the Party is legal. The head of the All-India Trade Union Congress—the authentic voice of Indian labor—is in jail.

But repression has failed to silence protests. Mass meetings condemning the violation of civil liberties are held all over India.

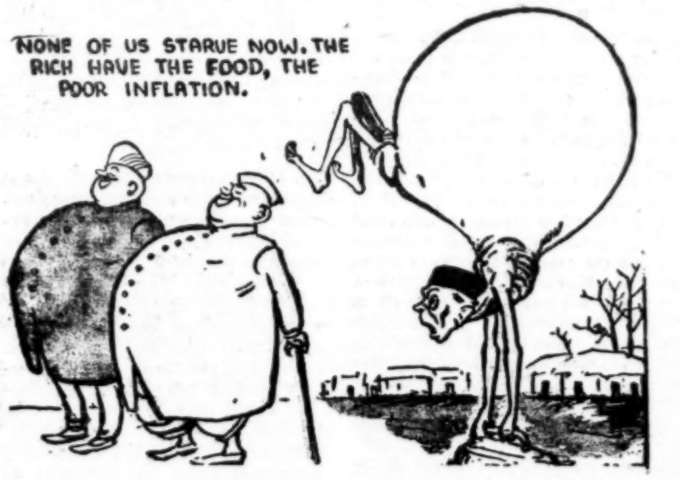
PAMPERED PRINCES. The Government of India has shown extraordinary consideration to the Indian princes, who constitute one of the most ticklish problems India faces.

The small princes, whose holdings were often only a few acres, have been pensioned off and their territories have been merged with the adjoining provinces. The medium-sized ones have been brought together into larger entities, where a gesture has been made in the direction of popular representation in the government.

The net effect of this merger has been to strengthen the princes; they automatically become members of the highest council of the government, with one of them as Rajpramukh, or Chief Prince. All of them retain their very considerable personal properties and privileges.

Their personal allowances are munificent. Some receive as much as $300,000 annually. And, according to Clause 2 of Article VII of their covenant with the Indian Government, the Rajpramukh is vested with exclusive control of the combined armed forces of all these princes.

KUMAR GOSHAL is a well-known authority on colonial and Far Eastern affairs. The best known of his books is "People of India." Next week he will discuss the political situation in India, from which country he has just returned.



From the Indian Shankar's Weekly

Max Werner: *There IS a Santa Claus in China*

THE Chinese Communist army that has defeated Chiang is now a regular army and the second biggest army in the world.

A product of revolution and civil war, it cannot be measured with orthodox military yardsticks. Its amazing feature is that it grew at the cost of the Chinese Nationalist army. Today Chiang is being defeated by his own soldiers of yesterday armed with American weapons.

At the present time Communist forces number some 3,000,000 men organized into five armies and one special force.

These armies are postured in a way which allows them to inflict combined and simultaneous blows. They are flexible. There are no big divisional units.

MASS DESERTION. Only two and a half years ago it was the Nationalist army which counted 3,000,000 men, with the Communists only 1,000,000 strong.

Since the rout of Suchow, Chiang's army has sunk far below 1,000,000 men. By August, 1947, it had already lost 1,000,000 men in prisoners; it has lost another million since. Of these 2,000,000, about 1,000,000 have joined the Communists.

Such a military migration is possible only in a civil war.

THE SHARP EYE. Battles are waged by the Communist forces with a sharp eye on the expected harvest in prisoners. Usually the main forces are hurled against a chosen Nationalist unit. When this is smashed the others are called upon to surrender. As a rule they do.

The prisoners then can go home — or join the Communist army. Usually 50% do join. They are then given a three to six month course of training and indoctrination, after which they are sent into the field.

Among the cream of the Chiang army which is now fighting Chiang are the famous Stillwell divisions trained in India. The U.S.-trained New First, New Sixth and New Seventh armies, captured in Manchuria, went the same way.

U. S. SANTA CLAUS. Former Chiang men serve not merely as soldiers and junior officers but even as instructors training Communist troops, especially the artillery units. Even the majority of the newly formed Communist artillery troops were instructed by them.

The same principles apply to the Communists' supply of weapons. In Manchuria and in North China they are armed with Japanese weapons. The other armies are armed mainly with U.S. weapons taken from the Chiang troops and captured in munition depots.

Communist strategy in China aims first of all at breaking the fighting will of the adversary — the will to fight for Chiang. Every military action is therefore a political move, and every battle at the same time a propaganda campaign.

The Chinese Communists insist they have no Soviet military advisers. They say the Soviet experts, especially the officers of the younger generation, are military technicians competent in regular big warfare only, without knowledge of the specific conditions of the Chinese Civil War.

Of the Communist army commanders only Generals Lin-Pao and Liu-Po-Cheng have visited Russia in past years; the others have never been to Moscow.

Profit needs a-pluckin' SO bad

Why cotton is king in the ECA

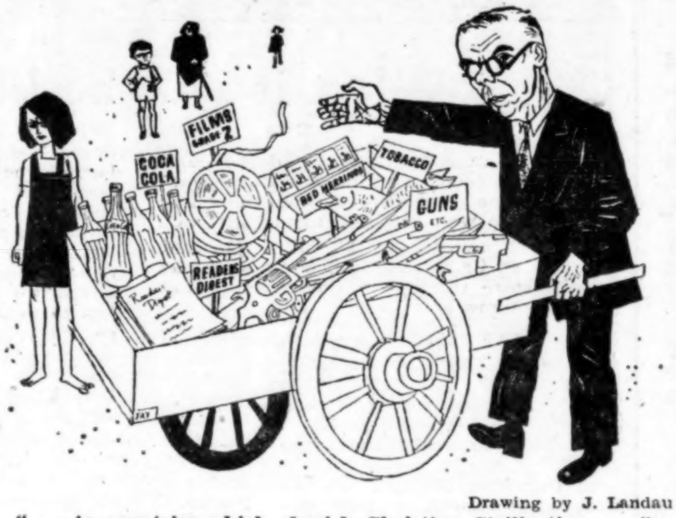
By James Haddon

HOUSTON, TEX.

WILL L. CLAYTON, known in Houston as "King Cotton," has returned to the helm of the world's largest cotton firm, Anderson, Clayton & Co.

In 1940, when the forces of evil appeared invincible, the firm selflessly gave its guiding force to the public service. Clayton has held various high government posts, including that of Assistant Secretary of State directing the U. S. international economic policy.

His successor as Anderson, Clayton chief in 1940 was Lamar Fleming Jr., described by the Houston **Press** as "conservative, international-minded." While Will Clayton was rallying the Congress and the nation behind the Marshall Plan, Lamar Fleming Jr. was rallying the Texas delegation and Texans behind the Congress and the nation that were rallying behind the Marshall Plan.



Drawing by J. Landau

". . . to countries which cherish Christian Civilization. . . ."

LOFTY MEMO. On March 15, 1948, while he was in the sky and an undecided Congress was debating the Marshall Plan, Mr. Fleming Jr. was inspired. He wrote a letter to the editor of the Houston **Press.** The editor thought it so important that he reprinted it as a slick paper pamphlet entitled "Memorandum to Americans."

"I wrote this," Mr. Fleming told Americans, "on the plane from Washington Saturday (March 6).

"My hope in sending it to a few friends is that it may help some of them to immediate and fuller appreciation of the immediate urgency of the World Crisis and of the need to decide and act now, before events take the power of decision from our hands, on——

"1. A definite and firm policy towards Russia and her tools.

"2. Preparation of armed force to back up this policy.

"3. Prompt assurance to the war-weakened countries which cherish Christian Civilization and individual freedom (a) of economic assistance while they are rebuilding their economic and military etrengths; (b) of military help if they are attacked (across frontiers or underground) in the meantime.

"I cherish the hope that many of us will make our thoughts on these subjects known to our Texas Congressmen immediately, stressing the crucial urgency of prompt decision."

THE WORKS. With Mr. Clayton's aid, Christian Civilization got the firm policy, got selective service, got a 70-group Air Force, got the Marshall Plan, and is now getting a United States-West Europe defense pact.

The Lord is quick to reward virtue. Christian Civilization in Western Europe and even in non-Christian China needed cotton—needed it more badly than any other commodity with the exception of grain. More than one-sixth of all the money authorized to be spent under the Economic Cooperation Act up through Oct. 31 went for cotton. Anderson, Clayton & Co. had more cotton than anyone else in the world, or at least was able to lay its hands on more than anyone else— or, at the very least, got more customers for cotton under the ECA than anyone else.

In fact, with tabulations made only up through August, when the ECA was not fully under way, Anderson, Clayton & Co. listed 348 separate invoices.

HE WILL PROVIDE. When the manna fell in the desert, all the children of Israel ate. And so it is now. But none of the corporations doing business under ECA did anywhere near the $28,057,906 business Anderson, Clayton & Co. recorded in the first five months.

Now that Mr. Will L. Clayton has returned from his post defending Christian Civilization, will Lamar Fleming Jr. continue to find a place in the company? Will the world continue to need cotton? Will Anderson, Clayton & Co. continue to have cotton?

These questions must remain unanswered for the present, but we end this tale with faith that the Lord will always remember the good in heart.

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Diet when he should have been presenting a MacArthur-approved budget, cried: "The economic bills can go to the devil. They're no good anyhow!"

SHAKY BASTION. Viewing Chinese developments through a glass darkly, MacArthur put in a hurry call for more troops to defend his bastion. The British army had practically pulled out. MacArthur had only four under-strength divisions.

Japanese power-dreamers had him between a rock and a hard place. In its new constitution Japan renounced armies "forever." Now the U.S. was being told: "Either go all out in China or let us build up our defenses."

Latin gang war

LAST Friday four eminent doctors — representatives of the Colombian, Mexican, Peruvian and Brazilian governments — flew to San Jose, capital of the banana republic and former "model democracy" of Costa Rica, with Paul C. Daniels representing Washington. They had the job of investigating the most confused act of violence in the series that is making Latin America look like a murderous comic book.

Chief characters in the melodrama were President-elect Ohilio Ulate, wealthy lawyer for the United Fruit Co., who won a spectacularly fraudulent election; Col. Juan Figueres, Costa Rica's "strong man" who simply overthrew the government when it annulled the election; Calderon Guardia, defeated Costa Rican Presidential candidate, formerly a liberal and now doing business with Somoza in an attempt to regain power; and dictator Somoza of Nicaragua.

Costa Ricans interested in the welfare of the people, whose condition is disastrous following the civil war destruction last spring, played no role in the act. Those who had not been assassinated were in jail, in hiding or in exile.

WHERE ARE THEY? Figueres, posing as a "democratic" enemy of Somoza, complained that a force of 1,000 had invaded Costa Rica from Nicaragua; he had captured 38 prisoners who, he said, were members of the Nicaraguan National Guard. Somoza said it was ridiculous.

What had happened to the invasion, nobody knew. On Wednesday San Jose announced there was "no further ground contact" with the invaders; there were a few planes in the air but they did not report seeing anything.

Somewhere behind the scenes were U. S. oil men who believe Costa Rica has a rich field of what they love best. Violence and terror have held the stage in Costa Rica ever since, early this year, the then President Picado rejected the U. S. interests' request for concessions involving over two-thirds of national territory. Picado also rejected the U. S. government's request for a 99-year lease of land for the proposed new Central American canal.

Ella Winter: *Every cook must learn how to govern Czechoslovakia!*

PRAGUE

"IT'S YOU who don't get the linen clean! I have to iron half dirty stuff!" Jaroslava pointed a furious finger at Anna.

"It isn't true! Neither you nor Dasha rinses the sheets properly!"

Dasha raised her arms.

"You dare accuse me! When I break my back daily over the tubs!"

The three laundrywomen of the hospital stood before a group of ten hospital employees; they were the Communist Party branch committee and the hospital's Party members were going through their "checkup."

SORTING OUT. There are 2,500,000 Party members in Czechoslovakia. Everyone of them is at present being examined, in plant, office, film studio, school, farm, and neighborhood, to see if he is worthy.

Almost 1,000,000 new members were recruited in February; a number "slipped through for opportunistic reasons." The "checkup" was to have taken three months, but from the rush to tell all it looks more as if it might take six.

After the "checkup," the whole neighborhood branch or "plenum" of about 100 passes on the committee's decision, which is then forwarded to the checkee's place of work. Apparently the checkees take censure hard. Enthusiasm for the regime is growing, especially among those who are benefiting from the change here—about 90% of the population. There is still grumbling, tension, anxiety and discontent, but large layers of the population are settling down to the job of building their new regime.

COWS IN THE RAIN. The laundry women found out to their astonishment that Communist virtue consisted in their providing the hospital with well-laundered linen, and of acting "in a comradely fashion" toward one another instead of pointing the finger.

My favorite story is of the cook Majenka, whom I knew last year in the country. She is 58 and rheumatic. She was very critical of the new peasant settlers in the Sudetenland, who "don't water the cauliflowers enougn, don't know enough to bring the cows in out of the rain, don't hoe their potatoes right. How can they ever hope to produce?"

Majenka was raised on a farm, and knew. Whenever she couldn't find meat or fruit at the village store she'd burst into a tirade: "You can keep your Gottwald!" (But if you attacked the Government she would kill you.)

ONLY PORK. Yesterday in Prague I asked fat Majenka: "How are things?"

"Bad!" she said. "We could only get pork for you tonight. I'm ashamed to serve pork for dinner for guests." (We had four vegetables, soup, fruit and cake, but Majenka wasn't appeased.)

"What about your hearings, Majenka?"

"Oh, I'll show them. When they ask me what's wrong I'll tell them. These shortages! I tell them at our store cooperative meetings too."

Majenka used to work for wealthy people: she has been astonished to find that the co-op is better stocked than the private stores where she used to shop.

"All the same, I told them at a meeting that they ought to sell cotton goods for us at hours where we, employed people, have leisure to buy."

CAN'T WAIT. "What will you do about the political questions?"

"I'll tell 'em plenty. I'll tell 'em that one reason I can't go to their party meetings is because they keep me tied to the kitchen here, that's why."

Majenka carried messages for the underground after Munich and joined the party during the Resistance. She's been preparing for her hearings for two months.

"I'll ask them when they think I have time to read books! But I'll fox 'em, too. I'll read **Rude Pravo** for two

weeks beforehand, then I'll know everything. But I expect even then I'll get five years probation!"

Others must share Majenka's method of learning politics, for the circulation of the Party newspaper has risen from 500,000 to 700,000 in a few months, and sales of Marxist literature have soared. Instruction meetings are filled.

Majenka may have some trepidation about her checkup, but she's looking forward to it, too. She can't wait to "tell 'em."

THE NATION

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

The Jury reports

TWENTY-THREE men and women of a Federal Grand Jury gathered last week to wind up 18 months of investigating communism. Amenities were exchanged with Federal attorneys and with the judge. Reporters fidgeted, then scrambled for telephones to report that the jury had died without an indictment.

U.S. Attorney F. X. McGohey, caught in the stampede of newsmen, shouted for them to come back. In the jury room he whipped mimeographed sheets out of a desk and passed them around. "Of course, there's an indictment," he said. "We forgot that."

The indictment cited nobody for espionage, but charged Alger Hiss with perjury. Thus closed Chapter I of the history of the Pumpkin Papers. A new Grand Jury was promptly sworn in to carry on where the first left off.

FIND THE CRIME. Whittaker Chambers, late of Time, had confessed luridly that he had committed espionage. He is in no trouble with the law.

The 10-year-old papers he pulled out of his pumpkin on Dec. 2—papers which are believed to shed new light on our pre-war relations with the Nazis—were still largely "secret" and apparently destined for re-interment in the archives.

The libel suit which Hiss had brought against Chambers was buried in the shuffle.

The only crime discovered by the Grand Jury, after all the headlines of betrayal and treason, was that Alger Hiss is alleged to have lied. He had said that he did not turn over State Dept. papers to Chambers and that he had not seen Chambers after the early part of 1937. Chambers said he did. Hiss pleaded not guilty to the perjury charges.

If Alger Hiss is found guilty on both counts he faces ten years' imprisonment and $4,000 fine.

On the last day of testimony Hiss rode down in the elevator with Chambers. Chambers turned his back. Both were silent.

QUIET MENACE. Chambers, for his part, filled reporters in on the long anxious years since his break with communism. His life had been threatened back in 1938, he said, by Grace Hutchins. Grace Hutchins, 63, is a white-haired,

soft-spoken Bryn Mawr graduate, an editor for the Labor Research Assn. She has been a Communist since 1927, and has made no bones about it. Reached at her office last week, she said, "It is the most ridiculous thing."

Unanswered

WHY, OH WHY? The case left room for many questions. Here are some:

Why did Chambers first declare that he left the Communist Party in 1937? When some of the papers proved to be dated 1938, he could only explain that "as the case developed," he must have left the Party in 1938.

Why didn't Chambers turn the documents in before?

Continued in wide column on next page.

The Red Dean's Secret

Speaking at last week's Peace Rally in New York's Madison Sq. Garden, where he and Henry Wallace got a tremendous ovation from 18,000 people, the Dean of Canterbury told about the British Minister in Rumania who complained he was followed everywhere by three detectives.

"I'll tell you a secret," the Dean told the peace demonstrators. "When I was last in America I had four detectives, who followed me about and slept outside my door in the Waldorf-Astoria. I never could discover if they were to protect me from you or you from me."

When he left for eastern Europe, the Dean said, people told him: "They'll only show you what they want you to see."

Commented the Dean: "Precisely what I always do in Canterbury!"

OTHER PEOPLE'S LIVES

Paul Robeson

What it will be like when Negroes have freedom in their own land

By Paul Robeson

I HAVE just returned from a concert tour through Jamaica and Trinidad.

I feel now as if I had drawn my first breath of fresh air in many years. Once before I felt like that. When I first entered the Soviet Union I said to myself, "I am a human being. I don't have to worry about my color."

In the West Indies I felt all that and something new besides. I felt that for the first time I could see what it will be like when Negroes are free in their own land. I felt something like what a Jew must feel when first he goes to Israel, what a Chinese must feel on entering areas of his country that now are free.

Certainly my people in the islands are poor. They are desperately poor. In Kingston, Jamaica, I saw many families living in shells of old automobiles, hollowed out and turned upside down. Many are unemployed. They are economically subjected to landholders, British, American and native.

But the people are on the road to freedom. I saw Negr[o] professionals: artists, writers, scientists, scholars. And abov[e] all I saw Negro workers walkin[g] erect and proud.

WITHOUT FEAR. Once I wa[s] driving in Jamaica. My roa[d] passed a school and as we cam[e] abreast of the building a grea[t] crowd of school children cam[e] running out to wave at me. [I] stopped, got out of my car t[o] talk with them and sing t[o] them. Those kids were wonder[-]ful. I have stopped at simila[r] farms in our own Deep Sout[h]

By Nic Waal

Nic Waal is a prominent Norwegian psychiatrist who for the past year has been working on a research fellowship with the Menninger Foundation at Topeka, Kansas. She has traveled all over the U.S. Like all Norwegian fighters she worked during the war with Communists (with whom she has political differences) as well as other groups in the underground. She spent eight months in concentration camp, six weeks in solitary confinement.

How do you like America?

It's not what th[...]

FROM the moment you set foot on American soil until you leave, everyone you meet asks how you like it. If you don't say, "Wonderful!" right away, the inquirer's attitude becomes reserved and disinterested.

I am used to saying what I think. My visit here (I have read American history, talked to everyone, followed all the papers) has been a shock. I realize that this is due to the crisis I went through during the war in my whole attitude to democracy. The values got changed—that is so difficult for the average American to understand.

Active underground workers had to be conscious—and make a whole nation conscious—not only of what we were fighting against but of what we were fighting for.

We were frightened at first, but our lives grew to be of no importance; the life of our children in the future was at stake. In the concentration camps the only law was that the work of the organization must go on.

We had to be fully aware what democracy is, and work together across any boundaries of creed, class, money, party.

JUST as Norway and America are different in structure and historical development, the content of the words "democracy" and "freedom" must be different. But there must also be some central principles of democracy which are valid for all living creatures.

After such experiences as we had during five years, the constant talk of

Swedish Magazine Service

Norwegians generally are polite to visitors. But this was one they didn't care for at all. It happened during the Nazi occupation of Norway.

how rich Americ[a] there are, overw[...] less disgusts the[...] plates half full o[f] bage can, I nearl[y] mustn't do that[—] hungry!"

I thought of th[e] children in Norw[ay] basement and fil[...] bags with potato[...] ica I have seen[—] revolts at the m[...] skinned infant [...] nourishment on [...] servation.

In New York, [...] eight-year-old b[...] wanted was more[...] he said: "Why d[...] toys if so many[...] isn't fair. People[...] food and toys fo[r] should have so[...] others."

WHEN all this [...] the press, m[...] know: "What is [...] people in Russia[...] people? Do you [...] was shot by the [...] a lawyer in Nor[way] the first Norwegi[an] one of our war [...] wrong for the Ge[...] now?"

I reacte[d] [...] heard that the [...] hospital had bee[n] [...]tical "loyalty pap[ers"] not do it; that [...]

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and I have talked to Negro children everywhere in our country. Here for the first time I could talk to children who did not have to look over their shoulders to see if a white man was watching them talk to me.

These people were in a land they did not yet completely own. But they were free to meet together and talk together and act together. They had the dignity of men who could make their own mistakes, men who could cut their own throats or make their own world. They did not fear that a group of white men could come to them in the middle of the night to hang them or burn them.

That freedom from fear is a new thing to American Negroes. I am never for one moment unaware that I live in a land of jimcrow. I do not grow angry about it. I think I understand it and I understand how we must fight it. But understanding or not, the realization that I am a Negro in a land of jimcrow does not leave me. Nor do I think it can, even for a moment, leave any American Negro.

FREEDOM ROAD. I think that this nearness to freedom, this being on the road and so near the goal, had a great deal to do with the way they received me. It was like nothing that has ever happened to me before. If I never hear another kind word again, what I received from my people in the West Indies will be enough for me.

They crowded around my car. For hours they waited to see me. Some might be embarrassed or afraid of such crowds of people pressing all around. I am not embarrassed or afraid in the presence of people.

I was not received as an opera singer is received by his people in Italy. I was not received as J. Louis is received by our own people. These people saw in me ... a singer, or not just a ...er.

Caribbean Sketches by J. Stefanelli

They called to me: "Hello, Paul. We know you've been fighting for us."

MARCHING MUSIC. I tried to put my finger on what these men and women saw in me, and how their welcome differed from that accorded me in my own country. I think that it is this:

The white men and women of my country treated me as an artist, sometimes as a Negro who has gone far, sometimes as a representative of a cause.

The Negroes of my country have received me often as an artist, and sometimes as a Negro who has gone ahead, but most often as a Negro who can help in their fight for freedom, their fight for equality.

It has been good to receive such rewards in the course of the fight.

A NEGRO NATION. But the way in which the people of the West Indies welcomed me was very different. The Negroes of Jamaica and Trinidad may form the first free Negro nation on earth. In the light of that freedom, dawning now, they welcomed me as someone who might be able to help them in the days of their freedom. They look for, and one day will find, leaders who will sit as Negro representatives among the world's statesmen; they will find leaders to represent not a minority but a nation of Negroes.

The march to freedom by the Negroes of the West Indies is a matter of profound importance to Americans. The sound of their marching can be heard by the Negroes of our country, and their own marching time will be quickened by it.

...he Doctor ordered

...rica is, how many cars ...erwhelms and more or ...he visitor. When I saw ...l of food go to the garb...arly screamed out: "You ...at—so many people are

... the pale faces of school ...orway who came to my ... filled their small paper ...toes. And in rich Amer...—and my stomach still ... memory—a bony, dry...t dying from under...on a Navajo Indian re...

..., when I had to tell my ... boy that a toy he ...ore than I could afford, ... do they make all these ...ny can't buy them? It ...ple should get enough ... for their work; no one ... so much more than

...is red-baiting started in ... my children wanted to ...s a Communist? Are the ...ia different from other ...u remember Viggo who ...e Germans? (Viggo was ...Norway, a Communist—...egian executed, and still ...r heroes.) Why was it ... Germans and not wrong

... way when I ...e doctors in a nearby ...een told to sign a poli...aper." I said: "You must ...t was just the way the

Nazis started." Some agreed, but they said: "We would lose our positions if we didn't sign."

Many Americans would say: "But Russia does it too; that is why we fight Communism." But that is not the way to fight. For a living democracy it is disastrous to betray the basic principles.

I said to the doctors: "If you all

"Well, I warned you to stop listening to those AMA broadcasts!"

refuse, they can't get along without you." This idea of co-operating together as physicians was simply incredible and it did not happen.

The attitude of sticking together, so completely part of my blood, seemed not to exist. If someone were unjustly treated, if agreements were broken, no one else identified with him protested.

I HAVE never experienced such narrow-minded criticism—even persecution of other ways of thinking and doing—as in the scientific centers of America, although of course such things are not unknown in Europe. Many of the hospitals are wonderful in many respects, but they cost so much to maintain that only the well-to-do can benefit; next door there may be a state institution which is medieval in every respect, where the patients are wrecks.

The American freedom seems to me to a great extent to consist of the freedom of competition—not of common security and common opportunity. Free enterprise seems to me to be a religious creed which in reality does not exist, but which is represented in a fearful egoism and striving alone against others. But equal rights and pursuit of happiness have no worth if they are a privilege for a minority. There is something democratically wrong if you can feel satisfied getting them yourself while your neighbor lives in mental or physical misery.

ENDING this emotional and distressed report, I feel dissatisfied not to be giving credit for some fine deep equality in the people; for all the blossoming scientific life, the many fine institutions, the sincere workers in science and education and political work whom I have met all over America. But until these forces and these institutions plan and organize their work so that it reaches the broad masses of the people, it will remain somewhat futile.

Only when we unify all such forces in the world will we achieve what we burn for: a free and happy world population.

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

The only answer thus far is that he is a Quaker and "didn't want to hurt anybody."

Was it true that a representative of the Eastman Kodak Co. had declared that the films were manufactured in 1947? The House Un-American Activities Committee denied the truth of the expert testimony but did not deny that such testimony had been offered.

What was the purpose of it all? The Un-American Committee whooped merrily after the indictment that it was all a vindication of its work and that now its continued life was assured.

STEAM NEEDED. Whether or not the continued life of the committee was the purpose, GUARDIAN correspondent John B. Stone reported from Washington last week that unless considerably more popular steam is generated before Jan. 3, when the 81st Congress meets, there will not be enough votes to kill the Committee. Even Rep. Holifield (D-Cal.), who recently spoke up vigorously for abolition of the committee, now is pressing for "reform."

NOSES HIGH. But even in victory, crotchety grand-daddy of all anti-Communists Rep. Rankin (D-Miss.) would not forgive **Time** magazine which had employed Chambers until Dec. 10 and has in the past been critical of Rankin. The gentleman from Mississippi attributed that attitude to a persistent bolshevization which lingered in Chambers after he left the Communist Party. Said Rankin last week: "All the perfumes of Araby cannot sweeten **Time** magazine."

Harold L. Ickes in his syndicated column also sniffed. The whole business, said he, quoting Shakespeare, gives off "a very ancient and fishlike smell."

Bill of Rights

LAST week the U.S. Supreme Court ruled: (1) against imprisonment without trial; (2) against search and seizure without warrant; (3) for the right of an accused man to defense counsel.

Until recently taken for granted, these rights had a tight squeeze in the High Court. On the first issue the justices divided 5-4; on the others, 6-3.

The cases involving illegal detention and unwarranted search were brought against Washington police. Recently numerous cases of police "raids" on unsegregated gatherings in Negro homes have been reported in the capital.

AMEND THE CUSTOM. From Miami, Fla., last week came news of a similar "raid." Police broke in on a dance given by the Paul Robeson Chapter of the Young Progressives of America. They announced that they would not permit Negroes and whites to mingle. They separated white from Negro, ordered everybody to leave or face arrest.

The YPA will hold its New Year's Eve party as scheduled. Miami police are expected but not invited. A YPA leader in Miami told GUARDIAN: "We will not allow a 'custom' to be substituted for the First Amendment."

Another sacred shrine of jimcrow, the news columns of Southern newspapers, was being attacked last week. A group of 125 Negroes voted to go on a "reading holiday" until Mobile newspapers agree to use the titles Miss and Mrs. in writing of Negro women. Southern journalism likes the phrase: "the Negro woman."

A different kind of boycott was threatened by students of Pennsylvania State College who set up picket lines in front of six barber shops where Negroes were refused hair cuts.

How to mobilize

BELATED explanations were offered last week for the war panic that gripped the nation last spring. On March 17, the President came before Congress and with tense voice asked for a peacetime draft, prompt and vigorous rearmament, military training legislation.

Many prepared for the worst and wondered what the

Continued in wide column on next page.

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

President knew that they didn't know. Last week the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Department revealed that it was all due to a "mistaken intelligence estimate."

Someone had sent back false reports on Russian plans, it was said. But it might have been worse, the Hoover report continued. If the original observations had not been checked and revised, the President might have ordered "an immediate and complete mobilization of the country."

THOSE PESKY TANKS. No explanations could undo what Congress did last spring at the President's behest. The nation is still saddled with a war economy; young men still await their draft greetings. The nation wondered what "mistake" it would take to get us into a shooting war; when the current war scare would be explained, and how.

Less costly were other failures of the armed forces pointed out by the Hoover Commission. Typical was the disclosure that the Army had misplaced 9,000 tanks and had no way of finding them. Cost: $2,250,000,000.

Scolding business

HARSH, too, were the words of big business to the Republican Party. The Wall St. **Journal** last week said glumly, "By the time another election rolls around, it is a question whether the party can find very many people silly enough to finance a campaign." The paper hoped: "Some day it [the Republican Party] may back up to a looking glass and see where it was hit in the rear while fleeing from a principle."

LEST WE FORGET. Voices were raised for the upper-dog too. "The forgotten man of our time is the common stockholder," said W. A. Paton, professor of accountancy at the University of Michigan, in his testimony before the joint Congressional sub-committee investigating business profits.

On the same theme was the testimony of Charles E. Pogue, vice-president of the Chase National Bank. Pogue said that the "so-called profits" of the oil companies were being used to expand facilities and dig new wells to "save the American people."

And Rufus S. Lusk, real estate man and president of the Washington Taxpayers' Assn., declared in a radio address: "Rent control is an early step toward socialism which will eventually bring about the same conditions in America as now exist in Paris."

(Last year Lusk blamed the housing shortage on the fact that too many apartments were being occupied by people who should be in rooming houses.)

FEARS AND FACTS. The presence and increased agitation of big business in Washington is timed for the opening of the 81st Congress Jan. 3. They fear most (1) an excess profits tax; (2) drastic price controls; (3) cutback in arms expenditures.

Word circulated throughout Wall Street last week that a market crash was coming, sharp and soon. It was hard to say how much of the talk was expert prediction, how much calculated propaganda to soften tax and price action in Congress.

Undeniably real, though, were layoffs ordered in Ohio, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Numbers of unemployed were too small for a crisis, too large for comfort. Of the 25,000 coal miners in Allegheny and Washington Counties, Pa., 10% have been out of work for seven weeks. Shoe, steel, clock and electrical workers are affected.

The Manufacturers' Council in the Stamford-Greenwich area of Connecticut last week called a meeting of labor, industry and civic leaders to consider the situation.

The CIO — Act II

THE recent convention of the CIO found echoes last week in several state CIO conventions.

In Syracuse, New York State leaders gathered from left and right to reproduce the same pressures and protests

Continued in wide column on next page.

THE NATION

The Big Money boys imperil U.S. Bonds

By G. J. Ferguson

It is an unquestioned article of faith for most Americans that United States government bonds are the safest investment in the world, and it will probably shock them to be told that it's not true. But it is a fact that manipulations of High Finance are endangering the government-bond structure of this country. They are creating conditions which would make another depression the world's biggest bust.

The series of bond drives inaugurated by the government in 1939 boosted Uncle Sam's debt to the astronomical figure of $250,000,000,000. While most Americans loaned their money to their government as a patriotic duty, the Big Money boys went on a profiteering jag which is still continuing. It was their party, but it may be your hangover.

HOW IT WAS. If you went to one of the gala bond rallies during the war, you probably bought your modest share and then applauded as Mr. Big Shot stepped up and ordered $100,000 worth.

What probably happened was this: Mr. Big Shot went to his bank next morning, wrote a check for $5,000 and then borrowed $95,000 against the bonds he had ordered. He paid the bank 1% interest on the $95,000 he borrowed, and the government paid him 2½% interest on $100,000 worth of bonds he now owned. A neat transaction which netted him a fast $1,550—or 31% on his actual investment of $5,000. Billions of dollars of bonds were "purchased" in this way, with the banks putting up the money.

The banks in turn would immediately make a paper transaction with the Federal Reserve Bank in which they would receive $100,000 against the bonds at an interest rate of ¾ of 1%, thus netting a ¼ of 1% gain.

A NEAT TAKE. Naturally there was always a big scramble to get in on a deal like this, and in each bond drive the profit-patriots bid the bond prices up so that in March and April of the last Victory Drive in 1946 bonds were changing hands at 6½% above their face value. The flag waver who had bought $100,000 worth could now sell and make another clear profit of $6,500 which, added to his $1,550 take in interest, made a total gain of $8,050 with an original outlay of $5,000. Why mine coal? Buy bonds!

But, you will note, a great portion of these bonds were back with the Federal Reserve almost as soon as they were issued by the government. When OPA was murdered in mid-1946, the big boys saw an opportunity to purchase commodities which were soon to double, triple and quadruple in price. The banks and insurance companies began selling bonds to all comers, especially to the Federal Reserve Bank which attempts to support the bond market.

This heavy selling pressure has approached a 1½ billion weekly figure and twice during the past year it looked as if government bonds were about to sell below par (less than 100 cents on the dollar). The present "pegged price" is just above 100.

INTEREST UP. Once again, as in the 1930's when government bond prices were below 80, the danger was present that bond prices would go below 100. This would mean higher interest rates. Your home mortgage would cost more, perhaps 6%, and you would pay more for your small loan for your business merchandise. All of which means more profit for the banks. Should you find it necessary to sell a negotiable government bond before its maturity date it would be at the market price of less than 100 cents on the dollar.

The Truman victory has given a temporary fillip to the bond market and the peg still holds. But what is the future course of bond prices? Many experts fearfully predict that they will go below par sooner or later. Some others say privately and confidentially that the government bonds and the government debt in the next depression "will bankrupt the country," whatever that means.

One liberal economist, stressing the relation between this problem and American foreign policy, warns: "If we don't squeeze the water out of the debt and stop armament spending, we face the possibility at some future date of the complete failure of our insurance, banking and savings institutions and the public will lose confidence in the debt certificates of the government. Such a disaster would rock the foundations of American democracy. Therefore, we must have peace."

Meanwhile, the manipulations of Mr. Big Shot have already made government bonds something less than "the safest investment in the world"—and the net result is that the fight for peace also becomes for the small holder of these bonds a fight for his savings.

"Take a letter to Santa Claus—'My Dear Mr. Claus: At the request of my daughter Guinevere, aged five, I am taking the liberty of writing you . . .'"

Scottsboro in Trenton

"Your boys are going to die unless we stick together"

By William A. Reuben

TRENTON, N. J.

A FEW DAYS ago a dozen persons crowded into the tiny living room of a ramshackle, wooden frame house in Church Street in Trenton. Among them were the mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers of the six men now in death row at the State Prison.

The relatives had appealed to the Civil Rights Congress for help, and CRC's executive secretary, William L. Patterson, had come to Trenton to talk with them, and get their authorization to act in their behalf.

WARNING. Patterson said: "I want you to know what's going to happen as soon as you sign up with me. People will come to you and tell you that I'm a Communist, that you should stay away from me. The defense lawyers, hired by the state, lawyers whom you can't even get to see today, will come to you and tell you the boys will surely die if you get mixed up with me.

"Ministers, prominent Negroes, police and city officials are going to come right into this room and tell you to stay away from me and threaten you with trouble for yourselves and your boys if you don't. They'll come to each one of you separately and say, 'We know your son isn't guilty, it's those others. Stay away from the other families and your boy will get out.'

"I'm telling you these things because your boys are going to die unless we stick together. And this is not going to be easy."

DEAR FRIENDS. Patterson turned to the GUARDIAN reporter and to Arthur Brown, secretary of CRC's New Jersey branch, the only two white persons in the room.

"These are dear friends," he said, "but they don't know—they can't know—what it is like to be a black man in America, to know that in many parts of these United States a white man can jail, shoot down or lynch a Negro without fear of being punished. For a long time now we've heard promises, lots of promises. But we Negroes don't get anything unless we fight for it, and fighting by ourselves is not enough; we know that black and white have to fight together side-by-side.

"Now do you still want to sign with me?"

ALL TOGETHER. No one stirred. William Patterson had not made it easy for these relatives to join with him. Then the mother of Collis English spoke up. "Yes, sir, I want to sign up with you." She got up and came toward him and waited while he prepared a form that she could sign. Then the other relatives signed papers, authorizing the CRC to conduct the defense of the six.

Patterson put the papers away, stood up and put on his overcoat.

"Won't you stay and have some dinner with us?" Mrs. English asked.

"No, mother English," he said. "I can't now. I have to return to New York. But I'll be back. We'll have many meals together. And, before we're through, your boys, all of them, will be right here to eat with us."

Case History

THE CRIME: William Horner, 73, beaten to death in his Trenton furniture shop last Jan. 27.

THE ACCUSED: Police armed with tommyguns rushed to Negro neighborhood, arrested six Negroes. Witnesses said three men had committed the crime.

THE EVIDENCE: "Signed" confessions of the six, repudiated in court. Strong indications that men had been beaten and drugged before "signing."

THE ALIBI: Employers, neighbors, co-workers placed the accused far from scene at time of the crime.

THE VERDICT: Death in the electric chair for all six. They are in the death house as New Jersey Supreme Court considers appeal.

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

that were in force at the national convention in Portland, Ore. There were regional overtones.

The Executive Board, firmly right-wing, met before the convention and drafted firm resolutions breaking ties with the American Labor Party, stressing affection for the Democrats. Other resolutions assailed the left on a score of points. No wage policy resolution was in the works. Left-wing spokesmen pointed out the omission.

Throughout the debates the right-wing majority had its way. The left counted from one-quarter to one-third of the delegates on its side.

"WHERE WE CAME IN." A minority pre-convention statement called for: "Organization of the unorganized—not disorganization of the organized by raiding and disruption." (Outside the hall demonstrating members of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers handed out leaflets protesting raids by United Automobile Workers.)

The statement continued: "We want autonomy—not dictatorial mandates from above. We want democracy—not the straitjacket of red-baiting and witch-hunts. We want international solidarity—not attacks on organized workers in France, Italy and other lands. We want a unified, militant CIO fighting in the interests of all the people—not a return to the practices of the AFL which we fought against."

Wholesale reshuffle

No union felt altogether secure—not even right-wing. During the session, word came from CIO President Philip Murray, handing the fertile organizing field of retail, wholesale and department store workers to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Right-wing President Samuel Wolchok of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union left Syracuse to confer with Murray. Jacob Potofsky of the Amalgamated said that Murray's decision was "tantamount to a command," and prepared to take over.

ALREADY DIVIDED. Wolchok's union was split when several months ago left-wing locals seceded over dissatisfaction with Wolchok's unwillingness to fight management. At Portland Murray hauled Wolchok over the coals for failing to organize. The rebel retail workers were undecided about their future course. Some thought they might join the Amalgamated.

RIGHT WON'T RECOGNIZE. On the West Coast, Tim Flynn, Northern California regional CIO director, tried to keep delegates away from the State CIO convention. He said: "It is a mere shell of a council that was wrecked by the action of its misleaders in following the Communist Party line and fighting against national CIO policy."

Flynn was put into office by the national CIO after Harry Bridges, left-wing longshore leader, was removed. The California Council sided with Bridges. The convention met, seated 400 delegates, ignored Flynn and concentrated on labor's problems. "Reunification" was the keynote. The meeting worked out a wage program, assailed raiding and suppression of minority views.

The "49th State"

Hawaii builds a single people

By Miriam Allen deFord

SAN FRANCISCO

THE Supreme Court of California recently ruled that the state's laws forbidding interracial marriage are unconstitutional. This legal preliminary for the breakdown of racial barriers may have been influenced by the example of California's mid-Pacific neighbor, Hawaii.

In "the Islands," one out of every three marriages is mixed. In the year ending last June 30, 1,668 of the 5,752 persons married in Hawaii had chosen a wife or husband of a different racial background from his or her own. Of 132 Hawaiian brides, only 25 married men of their own ancestry.

Next to the Hawaiians, themselves the least race-conscious group in Hawaii, are the men of Caucasian descent. Of the 2,050 white men who were married in Hawaii in 1948, 694, or about 30%, married non-whites. Of these, 280 married Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian women, 217 Japanese, 61 Filipino, 42 Chinese, 37 Puerto Rican, and 36 Korean. White women are less likely to marry out of their own racial group; nevertheless, in 1948, 76 married Hawaiians or hapa Haoles, (of Hawaiian and Caucasian ancestry); 35 married Filipinos, 25 Puerto Ricans, 25 Japanese, and six Koreans.

SINO-JAPANESE PACT. It was once practically unknown, for example, for Chinese and Japanese to intermarry. In 1948, 36 of the 2,079 Japanese brides married Chinese grooms, while 18 Chinese women married Japanese men.

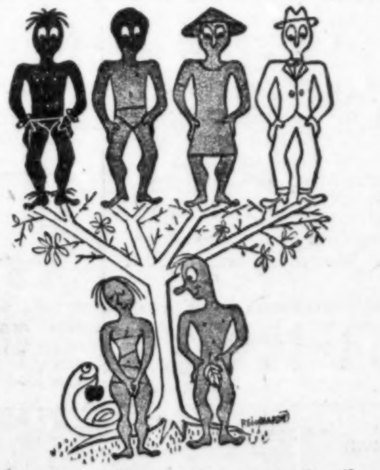
"This is real democracy at work," says Dr. Andrew Lind, noted sociologist of the University of Hawaii. "The children of these mixed marriages are fine, handsome specimens who are inches taller and broader than their forebears on either side.

"Hawaii is building a single people. The time is not far off when it will not only be impossible to retain racial distinctions, but when it will be desirable to use a different basis for classification.

STRAINS—NO STRESS. In all probability no spot on earth has so many racial strains in a limited territory as has Hawaii. For generations the white, Hawaiian, and Chinese intermixtures have mingled with notable success.

Undoubtedly the destruction of racial barriers in the Islands has been one of the factors militating against acceptance of Hawaii as the 49th State of the Union. Die-hard white-supremacists in Congress fear its lessons.

Hawaii is already an ethnic laboratory, a preview of the world's future, and a demonstration of triumphant democracy in the field of race relations. It is proof that where there are no artificial barriers of prejudice, people marry for better reasons than the color of their partner's skin or the sound of his name.



The peoples of the earth are one family

Drawing from "The Races of Mankind," courtesy Public Affairs Committee, Inc.

LIVING & LEISURE

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Foot-pedalled tractors are the kind of tools that children need to re-create the life around them, educators say. The tractor above ($21.95—Creative Playthings, 867 Madison Av., New York City) has great maneuverability and turns in its own length. Attachments are: trailer, $9.95; sulky, $9.95; bull dozer, $3.75.

For Tele Buyers

PORTABLE television antennae have proved a great help to people in smaller towns where there are no local video service-men. But they're also proving useful to city apartment-dwellers when balky landlords won't permit T-shaped roof antennae.

Portable antennae range from $6.95 to $16.95. They work best in suburban areas where there are no tall steel buildings to deflect transmitting waves. They're easy enough to install. One indoor type is mounted on a wooden base and remains right in the room with the receiver. It has two metal discs about eight inches in diameter; you rotate these with on eye on the screen to judge where they should be directed. Another portable type fits into the window and you rotate the antenna until you get best results.

As a matter of fact, video-expert Morris Gabel advises, it's simple enough to make an antenna with 15 feet of wire, or you can buy a folded "dipole" antenna for $1.50 at a radio shop. Gabel confirms that portable antennae work well, but says roof installations still offer the best chance of good reception.

Theoretically, you can save up to $35 on the cost of installation by using a portable or home-made antenna. But some dealers refuse to sell the desirable service-warranty separate from the installation service, even when they themselves use a portable antenna to overcome landlord rejection of a roof installation. The servicemen argue that some service calls might result from an antenna installation for which they were not responsible.

If you do pay the combined installation-warranty charge anyway, you should insist that the dealer erect the outside dipole even if you don't live in a steel-structure area. If your landlord won't permit it, and you accept the portable installation, your dealer should agree that if the landlord concedes within a year he will install a roof antenna at no extra charge.

First Aid for Shirts

WITH shirts still almost twice as expensive as prewar despite recent price declines, some notions departments now sell new replacement collars and cuffs which extend the life of a fraying shirt. These are for white broadcloths only. New collars are generally 50 cents; cuffs, 20 cents a pair.

If you can't find them in your town, you can order them directly from Troy Novelty Co., 5 Union St., Troy, N. Y.

Postwar Comfort for Prewar Cars

LOW-PRESSURE tires absorb jolts, make parking and steering easier and reduce vibration — thus lengthening a car's life expectancy. They're an important feature of most of the new models rolling off Detroit's assembly lines. Now that the new tires are available for older cars too, with most dealers able to give delivery within a few days, cost is about $3 more per tire than the standard type. New rims aren't necessary; low-pressure tires will fit either conventional rims or the wider-base rims sported by late models.

Most of the people replacing with low-pressure tires are owners of models from '41 on. For owners of older cars, the investment in new rubber all around may not be worth while.

THE COTTON PATCH

"A RAT is jes a rat!" says Creepy Johnson, as he creeps along wavin his hands and talkin to his self—an all day habit of his, but this time we boys happen to be walkin along with him on our way to the Robbissary (our crossroad store).

"A rat is jes a rat!" says Creepy again. "What the heck and tarnation you talkin about?" asks Gabby Jones, trying to light his cob pipe in a strong wind. "Rat! Rat! You jes keeps on talkin about rat!"

"Well," says Creepy, "I bin listenin to my radio every night when I comes in from the cottonfields, to a guy commentin about a gentmun name Chambers. This Chambers betrays our country to that thing called Comminist, then after nine years he betrays the thing called Comminist, then after ten years he come up with some sort of portant papers called Docients; says he got em from some Govmint man—Govmint man says it's all a darn lie. Boy! Is them unamericans in Washington runnin around in circles and jumpin up and down!"

"Aw, dont get excited about that," says Hank Tripp, spittin at a horse track in the road. "But youre right about a rat bein a rat. Yes, sir! It takes a rat to understan the language of a rat. He destroys, he bite match heads in the wrong place and starts fires that destroy homes, men, women and children. Yes, sir, a rat in one man's home is a rat in another man's home, and our country is chuck full of em from New York to Florida."

"Yep!" says I. "But seems like this here Chambers feller jes betrayed and betrayed till the way it looks to me he betrayed himself more than anyone else."

"I remember readin in my Bible," says Chuckwallie Cowley, "where a feller betrayed Christ. And then things got so bad with his conscience till he went and hung himself. Maybe this Chambers guy will wish he had, when these unamerican gentmun in Washington gets through with him."

—Owen Whitfield

Vine Street Blues

By Martin Field

HOLLYWOOD

ON Vine St., the 42d St. of the movie capital, unemployed hopefuls have opened an Actors' Hobby Mart to peddle home-made Christmas gifts. "A lot of cheer," pleads one columnist, "could be spread among those in the dumps because of the present slow-up on production if everybody would buy just one gift this year at the shop."

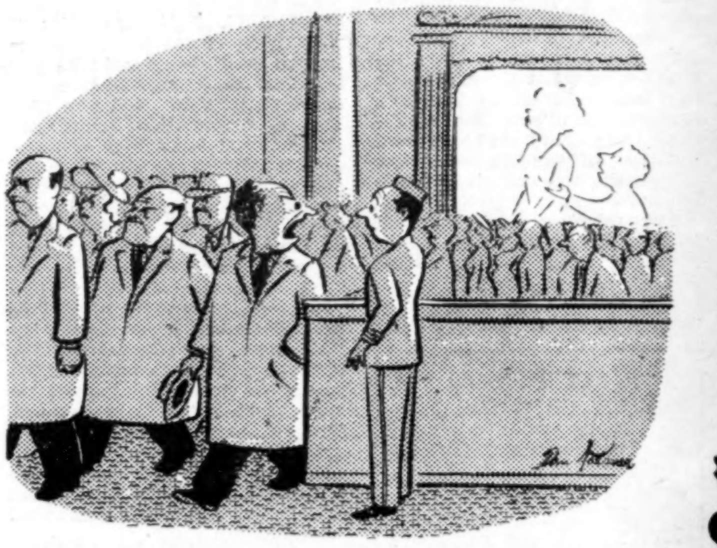
This is tearful talk for our Technicolor paradise. But topsy-turvy is the word for Wonderlands ever since Alice's day. In the midst of a boom, Hollywood is an isle of depression.

Big industry strains to produce more, and prepares to meet labor's demands for so-called fourth-round wage hikes; the film industry hits a new production low and talks of lower wages. Only 31 films—a dozen less than the last four years' average at this season—were in production as November ended. Two studios are shut down until the first of the year. Five thousand film workers face a jobless Christmas.

WAVE OF FUTURE. When is a shutdown not a shutdown? Listen to Jack L. Warner after laying off 1,000 workers:

"I cannot emphasize too strongly that this period of preparation is not a shutdown, but a time of appraisal, analysis and planning for the future."

One laid-off worker, a publicity man who thought himself a fixture after 15 years at the studio, was stunned to find himself included in the mass layoff, and remarked: "I call it a 'period of preparation,' too—for wage cuts."



"All I know is that someone yelled: 'We don't have to sit through this stinker'!"

Indeed, the charge has been made that this "crisis" is a manufactured one. The studios are sitting tight on their backlogs of finished pictures, depending on the pressure of the unemployment they have created to pave the way to lower wage scales. Their position is further strengthened by the numerous reissues of old films, whose production costs were written off long ago.

However, the "bad publicity" about Hollywood's unemployment crisis has alarmed the studio heads. Recently they held a meeting at which they discussed launching a "good" publicity campaign to counteract the unfavorable public reaction. The authoritative trade paper, **Variety,** summed up the studio heads' dilemma thus:

"What can a public relations policy do to change the press and radio reaction without rehiring (the laid-off) thousands of workers?"

ON THE SPOT. Meanwhile, the trend toward wage cuts is evident in the employment of writers, directors and actors at less than their customary salaries.

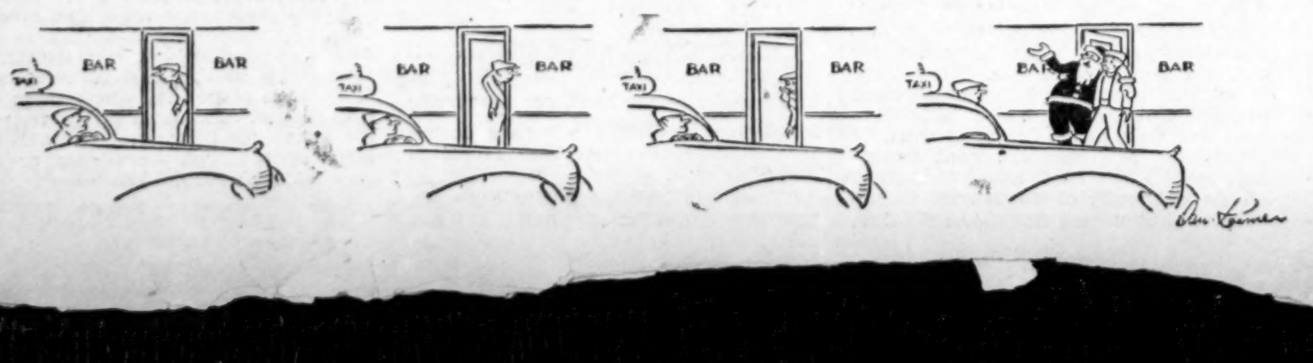
"How can I turn down a job at less than my regular price," one writer asks, "when my agent tells me that out of 1,500 members of the Screen Writers' Guild only 200 are working?"

The rank-and-file film workers, demoralized by a long, unsuccessful studio strike, are in an even weaker position to resist wage cuts.

A man who was high up in the councils of the striking studio unions said: "The studios made millions of dollars on the strike they themselves provoked. Now they're out to make additional millions on the wage cuts they plan to make. What better example is there for the rest of American industry than right here?"

WASHINGTON

LAW-ABIDING members of the King George County, Va., school system recently met a Federal Circuit Court ruling that equal opportunities must be offered white and Negro students: They dropped from the curriculum five high school courses which they suspected had Negro applicants. But when it turned out that Negro students applied only for chemistry and biology, the other three courses were restored.



A Faith to Free the People

By Cedric Belfrage

Death of a Miner, by J. Landau

III. The Clash

CLAUDE WILLIAMS, Presbyterian pastor of Paris, Arkansas, devoted all the time he could spare for many months to traveling through the Arkansas and eastern Oklahoma coalfields, "taking the Bible and showing the miners that God was in the union." The old union had been smashed by mine-owners' thugs after several miners were killed. When they were organized the miners called a strike for union recognition. Ignoring the physical risks from gunmen hired by the employers, Claude went from one local to another to keep up the strikers' morale. After three months of strife and semi-starvation, the miners won.

By this time a storm was rapidly gathering around the Paris Presbyterian manse which had become an organizing center for miners, sharecroppers and young people. "Taking Christianity seriously," Claude was making himself most vulnerable by his defiance of the South's white supremacy tradition.

> **And the whole assembly rose up and brought him to Pilate, and began to accuse him: We have found this man, they said, an agitator among our nation, forbidding payment of tribute to Caesar. . . . Then Pilate said to the high priests and to the crowd, I can find no crime in this man. But they violently insisted: He stirreth up the people, they said, throughout all Judaea with his teaching.—LUKE**

•

CLAUDE's own church in Paris, the whole U.S.A. Presbyterian Church, the Methodists, Baptists, Catholics, Jews —all, it seemed, were split up the middle by the mighty economic forces laid bare by the crisis. They could not play the part they ought to play because the cleavage of the class struggle, instead of stopping at the frontiers of the Church, cut right across them.

Yet the people needed Claude's church as they had never needed it before. It represented all their hopes for a better life. They still hoped for the completion of the Labor Temple of which they had laid the foundations, but no work had been done on it for a year, owing to lack of funds and the board's growing antagonism. The people had to make do with the old building. Those who had pledged free labor on the new Temple gave it to remodeling the old church.

The men who did this work were not church members. Claude had not opened the doors for new members because he always felt he would not like to ask decent miners and farmers to be governed by such a board. But one day at noontime a young miner with whom Claude was shooting pool said:

"I'm a church member. Did you know? Been one two years."

"Thought you were a good old heathen," said Claude. "Which church is yours?"

"Christian church out there in the country."

The miner said nothing for a minute and then:

"I may be a member of this church sometime."

Claude made no comment, but he took what had been said as a cue. The next Sunday he announced that the doors of the church were open for new members.

SOON the church had over 60 new members.

The new members had a quick look around and started deciding what they wanted changed. The basis of the Presbyterian Church was democratic government. There were now more workers than business men in the membership, but on the board the workers had no representation.

Claude called a congregational meeting. The church was filled with new members, and the elders and deacons shifted a little uneasily in their seats. Fred Howell, who had just joined up, rose and said:

"We ought to expand the board."

"You can't do that," said an elder. "If you add to it, it'll be too hard to get a quorum."

"That's just the trouble now," said Woodrow Petty, one of Claude's young people who had now become a preacher himself. "It's too darned easy to get a quorum."

After the meeting the elders, shaken by the sudden challenge, told Claude to modify his course. They saw it as a conspiracy against them by the preacher. Claude said it was none of his doing. He could not modify his course because he had no course to modify, except that he hoped to see the democratic principle of the Church carried out.

At the next congregational meeting the new members voted to increase the board by seven elders, and proceeded to nominate. To the elders' mortification, they had come armed with the appropriate information on Presbyterian law. At this point an elder made a motion to adjourn and was voted down 57 to 8. The seven nominees were elected. Claude offered a benediction and dismissed the meeting.

As the jubilant new members moved out of the church the clerk of session gathered up his papers with trembling hands. He looked stormily at Claude and said:

"Now we're blowed up. You got these cantankerous miners in the church. Blatherskites!"

Claude murmured that he had never heard anyone objecting to the blatherskites putting their nickels in the plate and doing free repair work on the building.

HE was busy during the next week or two making preparations for a forum on social problems which he planned for the following month in Paris, to be participated in by labor and religious leaders from near and far. He tried several times to get the board to meet, in order that the new elders might be ordained. Finally he discovered what had been occupying all the board's time.

They had been circulating among the old church members a petition "to dissolve the existing pastoral relationship between the Rev. C. C. Williams and the Presbyterian Church in Paris."

The petition had been signed by 11 church members and two others, and had been sent to the Fort Smith Presbytery with the charge that Claude "constantly espoused the cause of Communism, which is contrary to the teaching of the Church and the laws of the Government and land in and under which we live."

A month after the congregational meeting at which the new members had chosen their representatives, a group of eight ministers from other parishes met in Paris on behalf of the Fort Smith Presbytery.

Workers and young people from miles around came to Paris that day and filled the church. There were miners' and sharecroppers' delegations and a delegation from a Presbyterian College in the Ozarks, where a group of students for the ministry had found stimulus in Claude's brand of Christianity.

When the ministers went into session all the people had to leave the church, including the 121 church members, except three who were called in to testify for the 11 who signed the petition and three for the preacher's supporters.

BY five o'clock the preacher had been officially removed from his church for the good of the Kingdom of God.

Claude stood before his judges.

"I am going to appeal this to the highest authorities of our Church if necessary," he said. "I will stay here and fight it either until I win or until you unfrock me for my convictions.

"I have to tell you that I have taken my stand with Jesus of Nazareth. And I do not even know, nor can any of us know, whether He ever actually existed. I do not care whether He is fact or myth. Whether He is fact or myth, I believe in Him.

"If I believe He be fact, God was in Him to a greater degree than in anyone else who ever lived. If I believe He be myth, then man felt the need of such a Being, and by a divine urge created Him and read into Him the highest ethical heritage and moral concept of the race.

"If I believe in Him, I cannot believe in class antagonism and exploitation, which are inconsistent with Christian ethics, and I must therefore fight for the destruction of classes.

"If I believe in Him, I cannot believe in social traditions and mores which are outgrown, repressive and immoral. I must take my stand, not with the pseudo-patriotism of State, not with the ethics of decadent capitalism, not with the myth of Nordic superiority, not with present bourgeois respectability, culture and standards. I must stand not with the traditions of elders, politicians and industrialists, but with Jesus of Nazareth, who identified Himself with the masses and gave His life in the attempt to establish a righteous religion upon earth."

There was a long silence.

In a grave voice one of the minister-judges finally spoke.

"If you had done nothing else," he said, "what you have just said is enough to dissolve this pastoral relationship. You ought to be tried."

4th INSTALLMENT NEXT WEEK

A Thought For Christmas

For the last three weeks you have been reading in these columns the story of the Rev. Claude Williams, now director of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, as set forth in "A Faith to Free the People."

The People's Institute is a militant people's religious movement, placing religion in its widest sense in the forefront of the struggle for justice, peace and plenty. You can help in its work of bringing to all people the real meaning of the spirit of Christmas—the doctrine of true brotherhood taught by the Nazarene Carpenter.

If you want to know more about the People's Institute, or if you want copies of "A Faith to Free the People" ($1.25 each), write to Rev. Claude Williams at 4105½ Third Avenue South, Birmingham 6, Ala.

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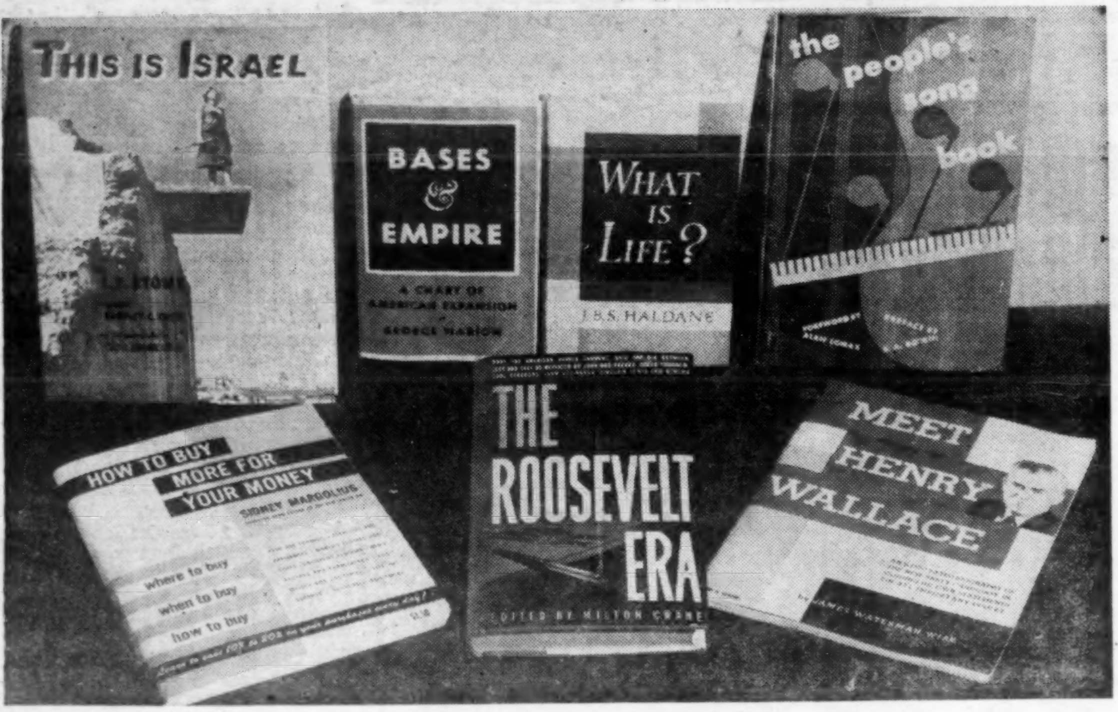

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